1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal'kas* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *rewü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
● 771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
773 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufü* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarriñe's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[16] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarriñe's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

ÑILLATUN CEREMONIES[17]

796 Woven together into the great composite of *ñillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 796 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely ● 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *ñunechen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *ñunechen*, or *kŭme* ("good") *ñunechen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[16] See Figure 9, the Huaiquian-Paineo field near house No. 25.

[17] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 742–43. A good account by a native is given in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 371–94.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñunechen*, and are said to dwell in volcanoes.[11] The essential dualism of Araucanian belief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent deities: *Kūla-añe-fūcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon'a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[11] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 594–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The assembly songs also serve to call attention to several items of Mapuche religion. Belief in dreams as omens is frequently reiterated, and there is one interesting example of the widely held notion that heart, soul, shade, and reflection form a single complex. Furthermore, there are some references to bird and animal lore, with mention being made specifically of the deer, fox, vulture, lapwing, turtledove, hen, and rooster.

In conclusion, it may be said that these songs give proof of the high poetic quality of Mapuche oral literature. At the same time they throw light on numerous aspects of social organization and provide important clues to an understanding of the interplay between Mapuche culture and personality development.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

241 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give it greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are thrashed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[462] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and thrashing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

231 The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and brood mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion.

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful.

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form.

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act.

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will.

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings.

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained.

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these god or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

RELIGION

Mapuche-Huilliche religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

Theism.—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ŋənéchen (master of men) and ŋənémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kushe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ŋənéchen," "Young Woman ŋənéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ŋənéchen (ŋənémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanos and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being should be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ŋillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucaniane*; Ruíz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

On the public rite, the ŋillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 303–10;

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881 mare to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Pehuenche*" of the Collon-Curá, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapí region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic cues, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Vaulx (1897–98, pp. 95–96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 218–30) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933–34, pp. 1061–63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short rations for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

764 Among the *Pehuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:393).

●771 Argentine *Araucanian* theism (see supra, p. 742) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1836, pp. 38, 48, 53: Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:394–96; Barbará, 1879, pp. 165–69; Milanesio, 1898, pp. 43–44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

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the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufü. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41).

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44).

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance.

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources.

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 208) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pilláns hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alvaro Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chief whose

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form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñán had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñán, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñán then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillánes.[45] Bascuñán registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutor would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñán's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñán, pp. 153-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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These are the Giles of
619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
791 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[622] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

"Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko ñietuín*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, 613
however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single 771.
household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to 769
be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if 613
he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at [774]
approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's 867
father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruc- 603
tion in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge 593
is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather [855]
or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief.

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed.

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthroposocial, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date.

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777 782 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

[771] [793] [754] [789]

776 795 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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[756] 683 [811] [613]

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore, [794] although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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178 62 794 [241] [613] 178 621 791 794 century developments and given its character to Mapuche society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that some significant changes have taken place in the structure of ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

794 613 621 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate understanding of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidol meiewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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754 602 571 788 626 182 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

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FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "commonsense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[2]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

[2] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

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Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence, the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *awn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
178 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
183 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on
78 such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> *Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans* (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
;H5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it